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STAFF NOTES:

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State Dept. review completed

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158

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SOVIET UNION - EASTERN EUROPE

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CONTENTS

February 14, 1975

25X1 The Party Program. Romania:

Romania: The Party Program

The final version of the Romanian party program, published on February 5, after a delay of two months, makes several cosmetic changes designed to head off possible Soviet displeasure. It nevertheless retains Bucharest's commitment to independence within the orbit.

The lengthy process of editing the program, which was approved at the party congress in late November, was probably the result of high-level debate over how to balance purely domestic considerations against Soviet objections to the program. Minnea Gheorghiu, a Central Committee member and president of the Academy of Social and Political Sciences, has denied to a US diplomat that the Soviets requested any changes. He said publication was delayed because of Ceausescu's desire for more research on references to the Comintern, discussions over how to treat the current economic crisis in the West, and time to write the preface.

The latter two excuses are weak. Neither the program's treatment of Western economic problems nor Ceausescu's cut-and-paste preface are sufficiently impressive to warrant two months' delay. Some of the modest concessions to Moscow on the Comintern probably are responses to views that Soviet party secretary Katushev brought to Bucharest two weeks before the Romanians held their congress. Ceausescu nevertheless managed to keep the original, more anti-Soviet version, before the public for two months before issuing the slightly toned-down variation.

Among the concessions are:

--Criticism of the interwar party leadership now applies to "cîtizens of other

February 14, 1975

countries" rather than "persons sent by the Comintern (Moscow) from other countries"; no Romanian needs to have this spelled out.

--The phrase "certain mistaken recommendations of the Comintern" that "distorted many political forces" in combating fascism now reads "certain mistaken theses which presented Anglo-French imperialism, not Hitlerism, as the principal danger..."

Meantime, the program still contains important points that do not sit well with Moscow.

- --It expresses the Romanian party's opposition to "great power chauvinism and hegemonism."
- --It rejects interference in the internal affairs of another Communist party.

It insists not wither Communism.	that national states will away even under full world	

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February 14, 1975